

**Post-Shakespeare Chronology 1900-2010**  
**History of Shakespeare-Catholic/Protestant interpretations, with chart of**  
**significant events in Protestant/Catholic relations (small print).**  
**Including**

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**by Dennis Taylor, Boston College**  
Unedited notes, Revised March, 201

**\*\*1900\*\*** William Gildea, "The Religion of Shakespeare" (American Catholic Quarterly)

led to change in 1610 with George V's coronation: "I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of

Hilaire Belloc, The Path to Rome: pilgrimage hike to Rome from Toul, France; implicitly invites English to reconnect with their European roots, and Europe's Rabelasian pious Catholic community. Roads through beautiful natural scenes, with churches, daily mass-goers, taverns, cakes and ale, all imitated in Belloc's reverential and rollicking and digressive style. Hills and towns "unroll themselves all in their order till I can see Europe, and Rome shining at the end." "There were present here and there on the spurs lonely chapels, and these in Catholic countries are a mark of the mountains and of the end of the riches of a v-5(o)-1(u)6nua vroi732me sl4ark a ou9(al)3(l):

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**\*\*1908\*\***

Baron Friedrich Von Hügel, The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends (rev. edn. 1923): “that ampler pre-Protestant, as yet neither Protestant nor anti-Protestant, but deeply positive and Catholic, world,” versus Protestant which is “unjust and sectarian” and “post-Tridentine type of Catholicism, with its regimental Seminarism, its predominantly controversial spirit, its suspiciousness and timidity;” Catherine as example of those in which “Universality, Obligation, Uniformity and Objectivity, of the second stage ... take the form of a Spiritual Individuality, Liberty, Variety, and Subjectivity.” See 1932, Yeats.

Newman Smyth, Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism: the former’s “crowning achievement is the victory which it has won forever for the spiritual liberty of the individual man”. But we also need authority; “the ideal of the one Church wanders among us, like an unembodied spirit, from church to church, until we almost cease really to believe in it”. Modernism may help bring the two together. “Voices of peace which were hushed in the tempest of ... the Reformation ... (the voices of Melancthon, Erasmus and his friends ... of Sir Thomas More, and John von Staupitz, Luther’s teacher, and Cassander, Bossuet, Spinola, Molanus, Leibnitz, and Grotius, and



and Holy Spirit, world and Church, fully incarnational of religious spirit.)

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**\*\*1915\*\*** James J. Walsh, “Was Shakespeare A Catholic?,” Catholic Mind (1915) on Catholic evidences, especially in Romeo and Juliet, King John, Henry VIII, and on biographical matters.

Ford Madox Ford, The Good Soldier: innocent Catholic Nancy goes mad when unwittingly occasioning the death of her beloved Edward Ashburnham, the likable adulterous husband caught (Graham Greene style) between her and his more Jesuitical Gothic wife, Leonora.

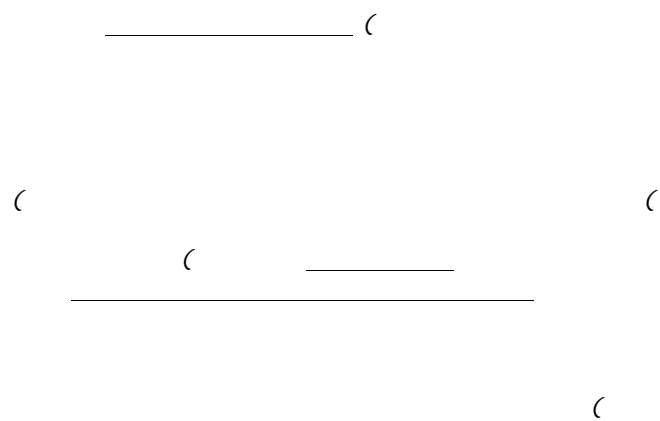
**\*\*1916\*\*** J. B. Wainwright in N&Q notes, without comment, that Simon Hunt “matriculated at the University of Douay when Dr. Thomas Stapleton was Rector.”

Sir E.M. Thompson’s Shakespeare’s Handwriting in 1916 confirms Shakespeare’s authorship of insurrection scene of Sir Thomas Moore (see 1871) (issue summed up by E. K. Chambers in 1930).

Wilhelm Creizenach, The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, trans. from German: “We find, nevertheless, in him a delicate appreciation for the poetic element in some Catholic institutions which perished under the régime of the Reformation.” “The arguments brought forward by Rio, Simpson, Raich, etc., in favour of Shakespeare’s Catholicism can hardly need refutation to-day;” cites Harsnet, equivocator, love-sick nun in Lover’s Complaint.

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subjected to a strong rationalizing influence [by Aristotelian scholasticism], to which, however, actual living religious practice and feeling never conformed or corresponded.” “By the continual living activity of its non-rational elements a religion is guarded from passing into ‘rationalism.’ By being steeped in and saturated with rational elements it is guarded from sinking into fanaticism or mere mysticality.” Appendix I: “Chrysostom on the Inconceivable in God.” Appendix III: “Original Numinous Sounds,” i.e. “om”. Appendix VIII: “Silent Worship”: “Our” “communion service is emphatically not a Mass, and the Mass has grown to be a distortion of its true form.” Otto separating the religious from the art/religion identification. Otto’s formative influences were Lutheranism, Schliermacher, etc., but see his originary ‘numinous’ experience in the Moroccan synagogue which he compares to Catholic and Orthodox cathedrals (cited Poland, *Jrnl of Religion* 72.2 (1992) 196). Appendices: “But the really typical ‘moments’ of mysticism ... are ... more possible upon the basis of Luther’s ‘fides’ ... than upon the basis of the ‘*amor mysticus*.” “We may devise an opportunity of silent dedication which will avoid the ceremonial apparatus and mythology of the doctrine of ‘Transubstantiation’, and in its simplicity and pure spirituality may be more deeply sacramental than the Mass ... We have only to follow the indications afforded by the example of the ‘Silent Worship’ of the Quakers.”

Chesterton, *A Short History of England*, early revisionist anti-Whig history, praised especially for tracing the oppression of the small share-holders by the oligarch capitalists. Chesterton will be celebrated by Waugh, Marshall McLuhan, Empson (for style and philology), Hugh Kenner, Anthony Burgess, John Gross, W. H. Auden, T. S. Eliot (at least on the Dickens book, “no better”); also in *After Strange Gods*, on critical tradition), V. S. Pritchett, David Lodge, Garry Wills, etc. (see G. K. Chesterton: *A Half Century of Views*, ed. D. J. Conlon, OUP (1987).

**\*\*1918\*\***

Strachey’s *Eminent Victorians*, lead chapter on Cardinal Manning (eminent Victorian!): compared to a redoing of Cardinal Wolsey; satire, though with some admiration, of religious intensity, assumption that Anglicanism is a hollow shell. *Eminent Victorians* is a proto-new-historicist treatment of sample figures in order to understand the “Victorian Age” (but with a satirical edge as norm), amazingly chooses Manning for the lead and longest article, more than four times as long as the article on the leading protestant figure in the book, Dr. Arnold. The central figure of Strachey’s secular Bloomsbury attempt to understand the Victorian age is this eminent Catholic convert, who is satirized, throughout a detailed and professional treatment, as a “superstitious egotist.” (57) The detail and Gibbonian satire of the report obscures the fundamental novelty of Strachey’s choice of subject, a choice which implies that the Roman alternative is somehow fundamental to the understanding of Victorian national identity. The story of Manning is early keyed by the Oxford movement when “Surprised Doctors of Divinity found themselves suddenly faced with strange questions which had never entered their heads before. Was the Church of England, or was it not a part, of the Church Catholic?” (13). Part 2 ends: “But then, those vistas, where were they leading to? Supposing—oh heavens!—supposing after all they were to lead to--!” (22) Strachey’s account ends with Manning’s funeral and the popular demonstration “as has rarely been witnessed in the streets of London ... yet, after all, the memory was more acute than lasting. The Cardinal’s memory is a dim thing today” (127-8). Strachey’s satisfaction in recording the fact signals a common a 20<sup>th</sup> century secular repression, of the way in which the Catholic theme has intersected with and troubles English national identity, and continues to do so. In describing the Oxford movement, Strachey quotes with barely contained horror Newman’s recommendation: “It would be a gain to this country were if it were vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be.”

Baron Von Hügel, “Institutional Christianity or The Church, Its Nature and Necessity,” classic lecture, in *Essays and Addresses* (1921). Also from same volume, from “The Convictions Common to Catholicism and Protestantism” (1917), on the eight periods of the Catholic Church: “The seventh period, the eighteenth century, is, for Roman Catholicism as well as for Protestantism, largely a time of stagnation and decline; while the eighth period, in which we still live, shows a remarkable renaissance of Catholic principles also among the finest Protestant minds, often where these minds still consider themselves irreconcilably anti-Roman.” “The great Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, the chief founders of modern historical science, always called Protestants ‘our separated brethren’.”

Weber, “Science as a Vocation” (1918-1919): “The fate of our times is characterized by

rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world' [quoting F. Schiller]. Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendent realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations. ”

Wilhelm Worringer,

Conspiracy: Shakespeare writes in favor of Scottish succession by James, which was the imprisoned Southampton's only hope. Hamlet is a combination of James and Essex, the former, Protestant, son of murdered Catholic Darnley, faced with mother Mary and her new husband, Bothwell. Also parallels Essex whose "irresolution in his last years bordered on fitfulness of insanity." Essex's last words on scaffold: "And when my soul and body shall part, send thy blessed angels to be near unto me which may convey it to the joys of heaven." Polonius like Burghley, Essex's enemy; Burghley's son was a wayward youth to whom Burghley wrote letters full of wise maxims, remarkably similar to Polonius's.

Tucker Brooke, "Shakespeare Apart" (Yale Review): not a revolutionary or explorer or experimenter like others and yet --. "He was distinctly a traditionalist in politics and social theory. His attitude towards the state and sovereign was not Tudor, but Plantagenet; not renaissance, but feudal ... There is not good reason for believing that he was an actual recusant, a convinced disciple of the Roman faith; but the religious penumbra of his mind was certainly archaic. For poetic purposes at least religion still connoted for him friars, masses, vigils, extreme unction, and purgatory. It came natural to him to invoke angels and ministers of grace, to swear by Our Lady and Saint Patrick."

T. S. Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets": "Jonson and Chapman ... incorporated their erudition into their sensibility; their mode of feeling was directly and freshly altered by their reading and thoughts. In Chapman especially there is a direct sensuous apprehension of thought, or a recreation of thought into feeling, which is exactly what we find in Donne ... In the seventeenth century a dissociation of sensibility set in, from which we have never recovered; and this dissociation ... was aggravated by ... Milton and Dryden." "It [i.e. "Enoch Arden"] is something which had happened to the mind of Europe between the time of Donne ... and the time of Tennyson and Browning." See Ross and Bethell below. Eliot includes Crashaw with the Metaphysical Poets like Herbert and Vaughan: "Crashaw, sometimes more profound and less sectarian than the others, has a quality which returns through the Elizabethan period to the early Italians." On dissociation: "All we can say is, that something like this did happen; that it had something to do with the Civil War ... that it is a consequence of the same cause which brought about the Civil War; that we must seek the causes in Europe, not in England alone; and for what these causes were, we may dig and dig until we get to a depth at which words and concepts fail us." On this and Eliot's idealizing of the Caroline divines building on the Elizabethan via media, F. Kermode is dubious: "The truth is that, if we look to Europe and not to England alone, we see that there was never much chance that the Church of England would be universally recognized as

**\*\*1922\*\***

Sidney Lee, "Shakespeare and the Inquisition: A Spanish Second Folio" (NY Times, reprinted in Elizabethan and Other Essays (1929): on the Valladolid folio, censored by Holy Office, tears out Measure for Measure, deletes Gloucester stamping cardinal's hat and exposing St. Alban miracle in HVI, King John defying Pope, and Bastard's sarcasms, praises of Cranmer in HVIII and praises of Elizabeth, deletes various ribaldry including kissing like "touch of holy bread" and "nun's lips to friar's mouth." "But he fails to apply his principles with any strict uniformity, and much that one would expect to fall under either his dogmatic or ethical ban escapes his attack." Approves of Lennox in Macbeth on "swift blessing ... return to this our suffering country." "The discovery of the Second Folio in the English College at Valladolid may best be regarded as proof of Shakespeare's early popularity among his fellow-countrymen, whatever their religious creed." See Frye and Milward below.

Eveline Feasey, "The Licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates"(Library10(e)8(s)ethe

E. K. Chambers, discussing “small travelling companies” in Elizabethan Stage,



to seize the stout, good-natured nun [Sister St. Joseph] by the shoulders and shake her, crying; ‘Don’t you know that I’m a human being, unhappy and alone, and I want comfort... can’t you turn a minute away from God and give me a little compassion; not the Christian compassion that you have for all suffering things, but just human compassion for me?’ But Mother Superior kisses her to her surprise, and says “when love and duty are one, then grace is in you and you will enjoy a happiness which passes all understanding.” Kitty excited by prospect of “Freedom” as she leaves. Her making love with Charlie destroys her recent self-image as someone strong and self-possessed. Flees, entering Marseilles, sees “the olden statue of the Blessed Virgin”, thinks of the nuns praying to that statue as it receded. “She clasped her hand in supplication to what power she knew not.” Resolves to bring up her daughter “so that she’s free and can stand on her own feet” [i.e. vs. being trained to seek marriage] Remembers beautiful river scene from China, “now she dimly discerned before her, not the path that kind funny old Waddington has spoken of that led nowhither, but the path those dear nuns at the convent followed so humbly, the path that led to peace.” (last sentence) [Maugham struggling to sort out ascetic Catholic and secular humanist elements]

Movie version (2006) (screenplay by Ron Nyswaner), an improvement: Kitty seen more distantly (in novel, her view is dominant, thus we side with her more); in movie, she and Walter get drunk with Waddington and his girlfriend, and out of a kind of weakness make love—which reconciles them; and then shortly after she announces pregnancy, and confesses ambiguity which he seems to accept; her tending Walter at his deathbed is more lengthy and humanizes her more through suffering; Walter’s last words are “forgive me:” the head nun confesses her dryness and annoyance with the absent God but maintains her patience; last shot is Kitty with her son (who look like Walter) meeting Charlie Townsend on the street, he invites her, but she says: “Good-bye, Charlie.” End of movie. In novel, Walter’s death is sudden, Kitty is less anguished by guilt, less converted; she wants, a little condescendingly, to help Walter get rid of his crippling resentment at her (“She thought now not of herself ...”) a mistake by Maugham that continues to the end of the novel—as seen in her return to Hong Kong where incredibly she agrees to stay with the Townsends, in a weak moment makes love to Charley, is disgusted, goes back to England, and then asks to accompany her distant father to the Bahamas and love him properly [the desiderated duty combined with love]. Movie changes the hedonist individualist bias of the novel into a secularized Christian allegory of forgiveness and spiritual freedom. [See Shelley sonnet, “Lift not the Painted Veil”]

Chesterton, The Everlasting Man. C. S. Lewis’s reaction: “All that stuff of Frazer’s about the Dying God. Rum thing. It almost looks as if it had really happened once.”

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**\*\*1926\*\***

1926 Frank Sheed and wife, Maisie War, found Sheed and Ward Press (publish Bloy, Mauriac, Claudel, Dawson, Watkin, Knox etc., and later, Küng, Balthasar, Rahner, Schillebeekx etc.)

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Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, trans. C. Atkinson; orig. German 1918. "Each culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay, and never return." Map of "Spiritual Epochs": "Western (from 900)": Spring ("Super-personal unity") (c. 900-1300s) ("New God-feeling") (Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, etc.); (followed by "Mystical-Metaphysical shaping," i.e. Aquinas, Dante); Summer ("Ripening consciousness ... urban") (c. 1300-1700 ("Reformation" (Hus, Luther, Savonarola) followed by philosophical form, with idealism and realism opposed (Galileo, Leibniz), followed by mathematics (Descartes, Pascal), followed by "rationalistic-mystic impoverishment of religion" (Puritans, Jansenists, Port Royal)); Autumn (zenith of intellectual creativeness) (c. 4eua5(s)-1() )tfk5-2(f)-2.84 158.3999 158.376.78



[Newman]; but it might have been Catholic; without ceasing to be English literature, and perhaps succeeding in producing a deeper literature and a happier England.”

Christopher Dawson, “Why I am a Catholic”: “But the Anglo-Catholic position was weak in the very point where it claimed to be strongest. It was lacking in authority. It was not the teaching of the official Church, but of an enterprising minority which provided its own standard of orthodoxy ... I was in fact trying to live on Catholicism from outside, and I might have gone on indefinitely as many others do in this kind of spiritual eclecticism, which subsists on Catholic ideals but lacks the foundation of intellectual conviction”

**\*\*1927\*\***

T. S. Eliot baptized and confirmed in Church of England. Virginia Woolf: "I have had a most shameful and distressing interview with dear Tom Eliot, who may be called dead to us all from this day forward. He has become an Anglo-Catholic believer in God and immortality, and goes to church. I was shocked. A corpse would to me more credible than he is. I mean, there's something obscene in a living person sitting by the fire and believing in God."

**\*\*1928\*\***

John Semple Smart, Shakespeare Truth and Tradition, debunks various myths, but forcefully argues John Shakespeare's recusancy.

Edgar Fripp, Shakespeare's Stratford, details the various Catholic inhabitants of Stratford: T. Barber, host of the "Bear," "'suspect' on account of the recusancy of his first wife, and then of his second;" Rafe Cawdrey, butcher and tenant of the "Angel" inn, who was Catholic along with wife and daughters, and his son a fugitive Jesuit priest; Alderman George Whateley, on Henley Street, two brothers fugitive priests, whom he supported. Also on Henley Street, George Badger, woollen-drapeer, well-connected townsman, "obstinate on the Catholic side;" also Alderman Wheeler, listed as recusant (Fripp thinks Puritan recusant like John S.). John Lane, "held to the Old Faith, was presented with the Cloptons, Reynolds' and other Romanists who paid their monthly fine for absence from church." George Badger, owner of house next to J. S., "staunch Catholic convictions. He was a rebel in his puritan environment, paid fines and went to prison for his recusancy, refused to obey orders at meeting of the Corporation and was deprived of his alderman's gown," etc. Also various dedicated Puritans, including William Wyatt, who raided Clopton House in 1605, "carrying off chalices, crucifixes, crosses, vestments, pictures, Latin prayer-books, beads, a pax, and other damning evidence of 'papisty'." On Chapel St., Hugh Reynolds, prosperous yeoman, large household of servants, "He and his wife were stout Roman Catholics ... Their eldest son ... enjoyed the friendship of Shakespeare." Sir Hugh Clopton builds New Place opposite the Chapel, to say his prayers in one, and end his days in the other; taken over by Clopton's unscrupulous agent, William Bott, who took advantage of Clopton's Catholic difficulties. Physician, Philip More, his wife "a Catholic recusant."



Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (trans. by Talcott Parson, orig. 1904-5. 1920), cites de Laveleye (1875), Calvinist asceticism necessary for capitalist advance; “the pursuit of riches, which once had been feared as the enemy of religion, was now welcomed as its ally” (Tawney intro); illustrations drawn mostly from late 17th cent. English Puritans -- and the

England. If England is ever to be in any appreciable degree converted to Christianity, it can only be through the Church of England.” “For some souls, I admit, there is no satisfaction outside of Rome; and if Anglo-Catholicism has helped a few such to find their way to where they belong, I am very glad; but ... Anglo-Catholicism ... on the other hand ... has helped many more I believe ... to remain within the Anglican Church.”

\*\*1932\*\*

John Dover Wilson (The Essential Shakespeare) speculates that Shakespeare may have “received his education ... in the service of some Catholic nobleman” (and may have been a schoolmaster at Titchfield, Southampton’s seat), and thence made the transition to actor and playwright; John Shakespeare was “almost certainly” a Catholic recusant.

Chesterton, Chaucer: “The [Renaissance] poets ... had often a torch of this lawlessness, and of something that can be worse than lawlessness; concentration ... Chaucer inherited the tradition of a Church which had condemned heresies on the right hand and the left; and always claimed to stand for the truth as whole and not concentration on a part.” On Shakespeare: “there was in the very greatest of the sixteenth-century men of genius a slight slip or failure upon the point of common sense. That is what Voltaire meant when he called Shakespeare an inspired barbarian ... the Renaissance poets had in one sense obtained a wider as well as a wilder range. But ... they had less real sense of how to balance a world.” Ariosto “deals not with Roland Dead but with Roland mad ... When all is said, there is something a little sinister in the number of mad people there are in Shakespeare.” “Nobody ... will say that Shakespeare was a pessimist; but we may, in this limited sense, say that he was a pagan; in so far that he is at his greatest in describing great spirits in chains.” “That Shakespeare was a Catholic is a thing that every Catholic feels by every sort of convergent common sense to be true. It is supported by the few external and political facts we know; it is utterly unmistakable in the general spirit and atmosphere; and in nothing more than the scepticism, which appears in some aspects to be paganism.” [Milward acknowledges this as proximate source of his use of “convergence”] “lost at the Renaissance ... a sort of reasonable repose in the common sense of Christian philosophy; especially the colossal common sense of St. Thomas Aquinas.” A man “becomes a heretic at the precise moment when he prefers his criticisms to his Catholicism. That is, at the instant of separation in which he thinks the view peculiar to himself more valuable than

Allen Tate, "Emily Dickinson": "Shakespeare ... appeared at the collapse of the medieval system as a rigid pattern of life, but that pattern remained in Shakespeare what Shelley called a 'fixed point of reference' for his sensibility." (See Hurd, 1762).

F. R. Leavis, New Bearings in English Poetry with chapters on Eliot, Pound, and Hopkins. "Poetry matters because of the kind of poet who is more alive than other people, more alive in his own age. He is, as it were, at the most conscious point of the race in his time. ('He is the point at which the growth of the mind shows itself,' says Mr. I. A. Richards.) The potentialities of human experience in any age are realized only by a tiny minority ..." Hopkins's language, concentrated, necessarily difficult, paradoxically closer to living speech, used "for expressing complexities of feeling, the movement of consciousness, difficult and urgent states of mind." "He is likely to prove, for our time and the future, the only influential poet of the Victorian age, and he seems to me the greatest." Also see Leavis's The Common Pursuit (1952): "Hopkins's religious interests are bound up in his poetry with the presence of a vigour of mind that puts him in another poetic world than the other Victorians. ... a vitality of thought ... a vitality of concreteness ... addiction to Duns Scotus ... [that] lays a peculiar stress on the particular and actual ... For Hopkins the truths are there, simply and irresistibly demanding allegiance ... leaves him in a certain obvious sense simple-minded ... To come back now to his isolation ... from this all-important religious context he got no social endorsement as a poet ... it is indeed matter for rejoicing, especially in times like these to be admitted to intimacy with a spirit so pure, courageous and humane."

**\*\*1933\*\***

Graham Greene, "Henry James: The Religious Aspect," on James's attraction for continental Catholicism, esp. its relation to death. "Certainly he inherited a suspicion of organized religion, although that suspicion conflicted with his deepest instinct, his passion for European tradition;" the Catholic Church is "the most impressive convention in all history;" whole essay important! Also see Greene, "François Mauriac" (1948); "with the death of James the religious sense was lost to the English novel, and with the religious sense went the sense of the importance of the human act ... Even in one of the most materialistic of our great novelists—in Trollope—we are aware of another world against which he ions of the characters are thrown into relief." Mauriac's La Parisienne. 0.009254a\*1934\*\* 0.00Tc 2of 0.0T qQ q 153172T77.56f44088 141.28 re W nBT /TCS0

Florio's diatribe against the "comedians" may be aimed at Shakespeare. "Southampton might have had reasons for distrusting Florio whilst fearing to get

remembrance of Rome as a European unity;" Jones later stressed "the opposition between Wales, seen as the main repository of the ancient unifying tradition, and England, seen as the agent of a false unity based on secular material powers" (Jeremy Hooker, The Presence of the Past 1987). In Anthemata (1952), "the Lady of the Pool, a personification of London, speaks of the regeneration



climax of idea of educated Christian liberty, marred by Puritanism.  
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress* (Little, Brown): "he



**\*\*1943\*\***

E. K Chambers argues the Shakeshafte, Hesketh, Lord Strange connection (“William Shakeshafte,” printed in Shakespearean Gleanings (1944)). “It was with this speculation that the case for the Hoghton connection rested for forty years, until Honigmann [1985]” (Wilson 2004)

I. J. Semper, “Shakespeare’s Religion Once More” (Catholic World), good review of evidence for Shakespeare’s crypto-Catholicism.

**\*\*1944\*\***

T. W. Baldwin’s William Shakspeare’s Small Latine ad Lesse Greeke, confirms Fripp’s suggestion that John Cottom is elder brother of priest Thomas Cottom, and develops Cottom’s Lancashire associations (first to trace him to Preston); argues Catholic influences on Shakespeare’s schooling.

G. Wilson Knight, “St. George and the Dragon” in The Olive and the Sword: “A personal centre [i.e. the Crown] is needed to safeguard the sanctity of personality, dramatize the greater self of each subject ... The king or hero [in Shakespeare] tries to identify himself with something that almost necessarily eludes personification ... The Crown is ... one bond of unity in an empire otherwise mainly composed of autonomous states ... is both heart and whole of the nation or empire; and therefore reflects at once its historic heritage, present soul-potentiality, and future destiny.” See also “New Dimensions in Shakespearian Interpretation” (1959): “As for politics, Shakespeare’s is a royal world, and his primary human symbol is the Crown, the King.” Also see “Shakespeare’s England” (1964): “He was a patriot; more, a Christian patriot. In the England of

you”Larry on the monks: “I was deeply impressed by their learning, their piety, and their unworldliness.” But rejects their “preoccupation with sin,” justifying evil as part of spiritual path,

Erich Auerbach, Mimesis, trans. 1953: Christianity, as in medieval theatre, led to collapse of high and low styles, fusion of high drama and ordinary; illustrated in Shakespeare's Prince Hal. "The dissolution of medieval Christianity ... brings out a dynamic need for self-orientation, a will to trace the secret forces of life," flourishes in Shakespeare but then this exploration cut down by the "restrictive countermovements ... Protestantism and the Counter Reformation, absolutistic ordering of society and intellectual life, academic and puristic imitations of antiquity, rationalism" etc. Figural interpretation in Augustine said the figure had as much reality as the events it prophesied, vs. Philo reducing historical OT events to purely spiritual happenings.

Winston Churchill, "It [Europe] is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, the arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern time. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and the glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy."

**\*\*1947\*\***

C. S. Lewis: "Be assured that for me too schism in the Body of Christ is both a source of grief and a matter for prayers, being a most serious stumbling block to those coming and one which makes even the faithful weaker in repelling the common foe. However, I am a layman ... and least skilled in the deeper question of sacred theology. I have tried to do the only that I think myself able to do: that is, to leave completely aside the subtler question about which the Roman Church and Protestants disagree among themselves ... and in my own books to expound, rather, those things which ... are shared by us."

Frances Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century, on the academy ecumenical movement (see Veevers 1989), and their intervention in French wars of religion.

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Graham Greene, "British Dramatists" in The Interpretation of Literature: "Religion was better left alone for the time (and afterwards found itself left alone for good) so that Shakespeare only allowed himself occasional glancing lines (Hamlet's prayer, the papal nuncio rebuking Philip of France) which showed just the fin of the dangerous thoughts moving below the surface."

**\*\*1948\*\***

Richard Hanson and Reginald Fuller, The Church of Rome: A Dissuasive, on RC "power-complex." "If the Churches of the Reformation have recovered new life in our day, it is precisely in so far as they have endeavoured to combine a loyalty to the true insights of the Reformation with a recovery of the heritage of their Catholic past." "By cutting itself off from its Protestant fellow-Christians, it [RC Church] has closed its ears to their challenge ... the Church of Rome has become a denomination, separated from other Christian bodies."

G.B. Harrison, "Shakespeare's Religion" (Commonweal): Chambrun's "Shakespeare Rediscovered" (1938) "did not perhaps receive the attention it deserved." On Harrison's conversion in 1947, see his "Finding a Way of Life" in Road to Damascus, ed. O'Brien (1949).

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F. R. Leavis, The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad: "The principle of organization, and the principle of development, in her [Austen's] work is an intense moral interest of her own in life that is in the first place a preoccupation with certain problems that life compels on her as personal ones." "Mr. Winters discusses him [H. James] as a product of the New England ethos in its last phase, when a habit of moral strenuousness remained after dogmatic Puritanism had evaporated and the vestigial moral code was evaporating too. This throws a good deal of light on the elusiveness that attends James's peculiar ethical sensibility." "She [Eliot] exhibits a traditional moral sensibility expressing itself not within a frame of 'old articles of faith' (as James obviously intends the phrase), but nevertheless with perfect sureness, in judgments that involve confident positive standards, and yet affect us as simply the report of luminous intelligence;ity6ule a on

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**\*\*1949\*\***

Catholics in England (because of Irish immigrants) about 10%.

John Danby, Shakespeare Study of Nature. A Study of King Lear: “Henry VI is nearly blameless as a king can be. In accordance with sixteenth-century practice he is given a tragic fault (the manner of his marrying the ‘she-wolf of France’), but it is merely a token -- something as academic as Romeo jilting Rosalind, and as intrinsically meaningless. He behaves throughout the play [3 Henry VI] as the pious, pitiful, Christian-hearted King. Richard is at the opposite extreme ... Henry VI is the regulating principle of traditional society. He is mercy, pity, love, human kindness, reinforced by God’s ordinating fiat. It is this which Richard kills ... [Cordelia] is the norm by which the wrongness of Edmund’s world and the imperfection of Lear is judged.”

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Orwell’s 1984: anything pre-Revolution “was ascribed to some dim period called the Middle Ages”; the past symbolized by song, “Oranges and lemons, say the bells of St. Clement’s, / You owe me three farthing, say the bells of St. Martin’s ...” O’Brien critiques medieval Inquisition because it didn’t force interior conversion.

T. S. Eliot, “The Unity of European Culture”, appendix to Notes toward the Definition of Culture: on the Criterion: “It was the assumption that there existed an international fraternity of men of peers within Europe: a bond which did not replace, but wa

Lord” “But you could hardly call Hughes a ‘revisionist,’ since there was so little of substance to revise” (P. Collinson, *Historical Research*)



new exigencies and old pieties ... the work will have ... cogency in the degree that the confronting emotions go deep, or in the degree that the old pieties are firmly held and the new exigencies strongly apprehended ... Carlyle says about Shakespeare that he was the product of medieval Catholicism, and implies that Catholicism at the distance at which Shakespeare stood from it had match to do with the power of Shakespeare's intellect. Allen Tate has developed in a more particular way an idea that has much in common with what Carlyle here implies. Loosely put, the idea is that religion in its decline leaves a detritus of pieties, of strong assumptions, which afford a particularly fortunate condition for certain kinds of literature; these pieties carry a strong charge of intellect, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they tend to stimulate the mind in a powerful way" (284-90).

have been happy for a lifetime” (yeah right). On meeting with the prostitute, ‘Never again would I be able to enjoy a woman without love’ (but always with lust, the killer). Several miracles surprisi

\*\*1953\*\*

I. J. Semper, “The Ghost in Hamlet: Pagan or Christian?,” The Month, on the Catholicism of the Ghost.

Pope Pius XII excommunicates Father Leonard Feeney, a Boston Jesuit, for maintaining “No Salvation Outside the Catholic Church” without the proper qualifications, i.e. “God accepts even an implicit will, called by that name because it is contained in the good disposition of soul in which a man wills to conform his will to the will of God” (Holy Office decree). Feeney had been opposed by Cushing, an inclusivist like Gibbons.

Paul de Man, “Montaigne and Transcendence” (1953, in Critical Writings 9): “His conservatism is strictly a conservatism of his own age; it presupposes the existence of a solid, ripe, flexible orthodoxy adapted to the demands of subjectivity; an orthodoxy that bears within it long series of mediations and is responsive to the contradictions of the human condition. The Catholic religion of the sixteenth century had, as Montaigne so admirably puts, it, ‘suffered a long loss of years in ripening this inestimable fruit’ ... A hundred years later, can we doubt that Montaigne would have sided with Peter Bayle? If the prevailing orthodoxy hardens ... Montaigne will be the first to detest it ... Listen to him, even now, thundering against the League ... What orthodoxy, at the present time, can invoke the breadth and comprehension of postmedieval Christianity?”

Elizabeth Cole, “Seven Problems of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book” (Proceedings of the Royal Musical Assoc.): its musicians and dedicatees a complex web of recusant relationships.

\*\*1954\*\*

Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock’s The Annotator; argues Lancaster connections, Arden family Catholicism, Shakespeare’s annotations, defending Catholic clergy, in connection with a copy of Hall’s Chronicle, putatively Shakespeare’s copy.

Maurice Quinlan, “Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services” (Shakespeare Quarterly), on allusions to the Catholic service in Hamlet and its “maimed rites.”

Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, on the Ignatian and Franciscan meditative structures as an influence on English poetry: 17th century witnesses “reunion with the central tendency of continental Catholic spirituality” (a structure later applied in modified form to the “Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric” by Meyer Abrams in 1965); applies Bremond’s Salesian humanism to Herbert; notes likeness of poor Yorick speech to passage in Fray Luis de Granada.

Alfred North Whitehead, Dialogues, with Lucien Price. “Catholicism ... is successful in producing rather a fine type of woman, but is not so happy with the men. The men have a need to shake off something which the Church hangs on them, and unless they do, they are ineffective as thinkers. If they remain within the Church dogmas they are always fearful of thinking some thought that will conflict with them. The Church, I think, could safely be more venturesome with its list of permitted books than it is. Emerson would really do their people no harm” (see John Tracy Ellis, 1956). “[Anglican] is admirable for its purpose; the beautiful ritual, the music, the architecture, the good voices—it has everything except religion. It is not religious, it sociological.”

Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality: “self-actualizing” people are unlikely to accept

Roman Empire with its seat in Rome;" planting of fairy tree and protection of elf queen, is like return of England to Catholicism of Virgin Mary. But shire reflects post-Reformation England in not remembering its past and needing to recover it (N. Boyle, 2005).

social and political) Protestantism must protest." Protestantism is essentially "self-critical." "The doctrine of salvation by grace alone is in part a confession of the inadequacy and perverseness of all human claims to righteousness before God." "The great temptation in Protestantism has not been the idolatry of particular forms, but the opposite, viz. the lack of concern for all religious forms and the consequent weakening of the sense of the sacred. A religious perspective that rejects all finite claims to ultimacy runs the risk of failing to see that the ultimate is known only

external and adventitious factors”] ... should have initiated in the Church itself a powerful moment of regeneration.” Protestant mistake sn

faith and of absolute obedience to earthly authorities “created a glaring disparity between inner values and behavior,” resulting in German proneness to authoritarianism (from J. Frank introd). Hoxie Neale Fairchild, Religious Trends in English Poetry. Vol. 4, Christianity and Romanticism in the Victorian Era. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. @ On Protestant subjectivity as a source for romanticism, and the resistance now of a Catholicism “highly resistant to subjectivizing influences@” (301@). Influences K. Morris below. Wimsatt’s “Epilogue” in Literary Criticism: A Short History.

surprise / Their martyrdoms depicted upon walls ... Thus vigorously does the old tree grow ... Its living roots deep in pre-Christian mud, / It needs no bureaucratic protection ... With one nail missing—that's the Pope's in Rome ... From the domed church ... look down / the Pantocrator's searching eyes ... With one serene all-comprehending stare / On farmer, fishermen and millionaire") ; also contrasted with Roman Catholic Church ("An Ecumenical Invitation": dramatic monologue by Catholic woman: "Now, won't you give our churches back to us? / Then you'll be Catholics too! ... It does seem such a pity ... Those fine cathedrals crumbling to decay / Half empty, while our own, though brash and cheap, / Are always, always crowded to the doors." Invites Betjeman to give an ecumenical speech, "the Holy Father's said / That all the Christians in the world, the rank / Outsiders, I mean those outside our ranks, / As well as Catholics, must play their part, / And that was why I thought of asking you / To give this year's annual address. / It's quite informal, only half an hour" (rueful satire of triumphalist Catholic). "The Empty Pew" (wr. 1948) after his wife's Catholic conversion: "Above the steaming thatch how silver-grey / Our chiming church tower, calling 'Come to me // My Sunday-



**\*\*1960\*\***

“If I am not wrong, the Protestant principle and the Catholic contradict each other totally. They cannot coexist in the same man or in the same religious fellowship.” [except that they do]

**\*\*1961\*\***

H. A. Shield, “A Stratford Schoolmaster,” in The Month argues John Cottom’s connection to Lancashire.

Christianity Divided, ed. Daniel J. Callahan et al. (Sheed and Ward), admired by Flannery O’Connor, with Max Thurian’s “The Real Presence” influencing “Parker’s Back”, and Barth’s “The Concept of the Church”: “to take each other seriously means: mutually to bear the whole burden of our opposition, both as a burden and as the burden of our being opposed to each other ... It means to see the other over there ... in his whole, horrifyingly different faith, in his uncanny turning away from that which for us is the most central and unshakeable Christian truth; while at the same time we make clear to ourselves that he, on his part, is just as horrified about us .... Each side sees first and foremost the same reality so very differently,” but it is the same reality.

Harold Bloom The Visionary Company (Doubleday, 1961): “We strive to admire, yet this [i. e. Blake’s “the imagination, which liveth forever”] is remote from us; we want to know what Blake

against the established church ... [Gower's] was a much more subdued voice in the nineties than it was in the eighties. In the interim, one age, an age of free criticism, had come to an end and another, of conservative reaction, had begun."

Jean Guitton, The Church and the Gospel, tr. E. Craufurd: "the essence of Protestantism lies in its purity ... a religion of separation and transcendence ... the desire never to resign itself to alloys or compromises ... Catholicism, on the other hand ... accepts a provisional combination of the pure and impure. It is afraid of disturbing the indwelling presence of the good by detaching it too soon from the less good, and even the evil, which are bound up with."

**\*\*1962\*\***

Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, with chapters “The Nature and Necessity of Scientific Revolutions,” “Revolutions as Changes of World View,” “Progress Through Revolutions” (includes progress in filling out the paradigm). New paradigms develop as a result of anomalies afflicting the old paradigms. “Other creative fields display progress of the same sort.” Reinforces idea of the obsolescence of old world views.

Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy, “concerned to show why alphabetic man was disposed to sacralize his mode of being.” 69

Tillich, “The Permanent Significance of the Catholic Church for Protestants” Dialog 1 (Spring, 1962). Catholicism needs Protestant prophetic strain in order not to absolutize the human and historical; Protestantism needs Catholic sacramental strain to keep prophecy from cultural activism and moral utopianism; also the authority that God is sacramentally present; and Catholic mystical symbolism, to avoid intellectualism and moralism. Article made Protestants receptive to significance of upcoming Vatican 2 (Bianchi). Catholicism needs Protestant prophetic strain in order not to absolutize the human and historical.

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Hugh Ross Williamson, The Day Shakespeare Died: reviews John Shakespeare's persecution by Lucy; on John Robinson's continued tenancy at Blackfriars thus keeping it in recusant hands; Hermione's defense echoes Campion's defense; and description of Wolsey echoes Campion's History of Ireland; exposed by John Speed (see 1611), and so Shakespeare retired to Stratford.

**\*\*1963\*\***

Fr. Christopher Devlin's Hamlet's Divinity and Other Essays: reviews previous evidence; cites parallel of Lear language to the

**\*\*1964\*\***

J. Crehan, "Shakespeare and the Sarum Ritual," The Month: Oberon's blessing like a paraphrase of the Benedictio Thalami in Catholic Church's old Sarum rite.

G. K. Hunter, "Six Notes on Measure for Measure" (Shakespeare Quarterly): portrait of Isabella reflects Shakespeare's detailed knowledge of the rule of the Poor Clare sisters.

Hugh Hanley, "Shakespeare's Family in Stratford Records," (TLS 21 May); Stratford ecclesiastical records show Susanna was charged, with the Sadlers, for not receiving the sacrament, later dismissed; courts acted because of Gunpowder Plot six months previous.

Etienne Delaruelle, L'église au temps du Grand Schisme, and later books, emphasizing medieval "piety" crossing class lines, rejecting notion of a bi-level culture, helped bring ordinary people into mainstream of historical study. TLS

\*\*1965\*\*

Peter Milward, "Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) (1965-6), expansion of 1960 article.

Robert Hunter, Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness (Columbia UP): Shakespeare comedies are in tradition of "those early plays of forgiveness ... commonly found among the type known as the Miracles de Notre Dame;" but in Shakespeare the relation of man and God is secularized into human relations.

James McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI, on the Catholic humanism of Erasmus, and indigenous English Catholic humanism after 1500; its persistence in reign of Henry VIII, influence on Catherine Parr, and early Cranmer; but radical Protestantism under Edward VI diverged from Erasmianism, a radicalism increased by Protestant Marian exiles like Bale and Foxe who criticized Henry's lukewarm Protestantism; recusant exiles under Mary in turn separated More from Erasmus. Still this Erasmian tradition continued underground into Jewel (!) and Andrewes, and "recalls those secret streams of learning and evangelism which flowed beneath the more obvious landmarks of Reformation debate, which drew their vigour from the writings of Erasmus and his friends, and which coursed through England as through the rest of western Europe in the years of common effort before the disintegration of Christian unity in the west" (book's concluding sentence).

Harvey Cox, The Secular City 1965, rev. edn. 1966: "There are three pivotal elements in biblical faith which have each given rise to one aspect of secularization: the disenchantment of nature begins with the Creation, the desacralization of politics with the Exodus, and the deconsecration of values with the Sinai Covenant, especially with its prohibition of idols." "Hellenistic man bears far less responsibility than biblical man in the creative work of God." "The world is becoming more and more 'mere world.' It is being divested of its sacral and religious character," a good thing

Wimsatt, "Horse of Wrath: Recent Critical Lessons" in Hateful Contraries (U. of Kentucky Press, 1965): "the religious mind would seem, in the end, to be more hospitable to the tensional and metaphysical view of poetry than the naturalistic mind is able to be. And this is borne out in recent history. The metaphysical criticism which was 'new' in the 1940's (working by the norms of wit, irony, metaphor, drama, tension) had had some of its strongest champions among poets and critics of the Anglican school and has enjoyed for the most part at least a friendly reception in Roman Catholic schools and journals. The same school of criticism has met with strong disapproval from Marxist and other socially oriented thought ..." (p. 48).

\*\*1966\*\*

Peter Milward, "The Homiletic Tradition in Shakespeare's Plays" (Shakespeare Studies, Japan), on echoes of Persons's Christian Directory, Southwell, Nashe Teares, Catholic bits from sermons of Henry Smith.

Oscar Campbell and Edward Quinn, The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare: "most authorities reject this idea" "that John Shakespeare's recusancy was a result of his Puritan, not Catholic, sympathies." "It is generally conceded that Shakespeare's father was a Catholic ... and it has recently been discovered that the poet's daughter was listed with a group of recusants in 1607. Stratford itself, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was fairly well divided in the matter of religious preferences."

Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury issue common

declaration grateful for new dialogue, set up Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) (1966-1981). Their “Common Declaration”: “in this city of Rome, from which Saint Augustine was sent by Saint Gregory to England and there founded the cathedral see of Canterbury ... they wish to leave ... all that in the past has been opposed to this precept of charity.” They announced their goal of “restoration of complete communion in faith and sacramental life.” In St. Paul’s Basilica, they said the Our Father together.

**\*\*1967\*\***

**English version of the Borromeo template-testament found**, printed in 1638, which closely follows Malone’s text. See John McManaway, “John Shakespeare’s ‘Spiritual Testament’,” Shakespeare Quarterly; cites Malone-Chambers, Thurston’s 1923 discovery, Mutschmann, Parker (1955), De Groot. Finds more Spanish edns. of the Borromeo testament; argues that Catholic missionaries brought testament into England. Also announces discovery of the Folger Library English version.

Helen Gardner, King Lear, compares last scene to Pieta (but Mack, 1965, gives slight hint.)

Frances Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, on Bruno’s hermetic Neo-



spiritual reform in Catholic 'reformation' as well; notes "the systematization of the meditative form of mental prayer, which was much cultivated in the fifteenth century, in the first instance as a way toward the reform of monastic and clerical life. Thence it was adapted progressively to the requirements of the devout layman, to become eventually, through the agency of the great spiritual masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries -- Ignatius, Scupoli, François de Sales, Bérulle, Vincent de Paul -- one of the cornerstones of the new and reinvigorated spirituality that was gradually diffused, by means of all the new apostolic techniques of the Counter-Reformation, through the whole Catholic Church". In earlier The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent (Cambridge UP, 1930), Evennett distinguished positive and negative elements, i.e. expansion and development, and yet defence of medievalism and counter-attack against revolution in the church (see Jedin, 1946).

D. M. Rogers ed., English Recusant Literature (Scolar Press), 394 facsimile volumes (pub. 1968-79)

Cultural revolution of 1968, launched Age of Aquarius (sic).

**\*\*1969\*\***

David Lake, N&Q

number as a group (on the album, before the song Lennon is heard mocking, mimicking Gracie Fields, 'now we'd like to do "Hark The Angels Come"' (Contrast Lennon's "Imagine (there's no heaven)" (1971):

When I find myself in times of trouble  
Mother Mary comes to me  
Speaking words of wisdom, let it be

And in my hour of darkness  
She is standing right in front of me  
Speaking words of wisdom, let it be ...

And when the brokenhearted people  
Living in the world agree  
There will be an answer, let it be

Schoenbaum, Shakespeare's Lives, cites 1923 Thurston article and says the Spanish text "confirmed the authenticity" of the template for the original John Shakespeare testament, but "other John Shakespeares lived in Warwickshire ... all conjecture uncertain;" sees Hamer article as "effectively" rebutting the Lancaster theory (but see 1987 below, also 1975, 1977, 1985).

D. Douglas Water, Duessa as Theological Satire, i.e. in the "Mistress Missa" tradition connected mass with whore of Babylon; parallels knight's physical and spiritual lust (for idols); Cranmer had warned: "Listen not to the false incantations, sweet whisperings, and crafty juggling of the subtle papists, wherewith they have ... bewitched the world."

Pope Paul VI canonizes 40 of the 136 beatified English and Welsh martyrs, a controversial act; prays that the blood of the martyrs would heal the old division. The Pope proclaimed: "on the day when—God willing—the unity of faith and of Christian life is restored, no offense will be inflicted on the honor and sovereignty of a great country such as England. There will be no seeking to lessen the legitimate prestige and the worthy patrimony of the piety and usage proper to the Anglican Church ..." canonized included Mayne, Campion, Walpole, Clitherow, Southwell, Owen, not Garnet.

Terry Eagleton, The Body as Language: Outline of a 'new left' theology. Note Literary Theory (1983): "The liberal humanist response ... is not weak because it believes that literature can be transformative. It is weak because it usually grossly overestimates this transformative power, considers it in isolation from any determining social contexts" (from "Conclusion: Political Criticism").

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Jesus Christ Superstar, rock musical by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice, appears first as album, then on Broadway in 1971.

**\*\*1971\*\***

Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: on folk connection of magic with Catholic ritual, promoted reexamination of this theme in Europe, parallels to undeveloped world. ARCIC issues first agreed statement, "Eucharistic Doctrine" (see 1966): "Communion with Christ in the eucharist presupposes his true presence ... We believe that we have reached substantial agreement ..."

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Craig R. Thompson, "Erasmus and Tudor England" (Actes du Congres Erasmue): "In polemics between Anglicans and Roman Catholics during the reign, Erasmus occupied a curious position. The Jesuits would not quite let him go, but to some Anglicans he seemed virtually one of themselves ... We do not yet have the synthesis the subject deserves."

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Congregationalist and cut off from the main stream of the Church of England and rejoiced to have it so. It had thrown in its lot devotionally with the baroque Catholicism of the continent just when that movement was about to be discredited in the church of its origin." [Anglo-Catholicism as a chosen structure, "fun," "a dream," a "version," like a poetic structure (thus a good setting for the valuing of the literary, and the new criticism); thus Milton's invented Christianity in fact consistent with this dimension of construct in Anglicanism (see Malcolm Ross on Paradise Regained, 1667).]

**\*\*1972\*\***

E.R.C Brinkworth, in Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford, church records show that Susanna, and Hamnet and Judith Sadler were probably church papists.

G. R. Elton, Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell: "The tasks of enforcement, from clarifying the new truths to dealing with irreconcilables ... were pressing, constant and pervasive;" discusses Cromwell's brilliant coordination of "propaganda and enforcement," including "a System of espionage, the most effective England had" hg0(r1t4 cma76)-264a76d476re(n4o1(g)1()-98018 -1n14-4()-264("dTd[h(g)1()-



Shakespeare plays to factional Catholic tracts, but unconvincing because the subjects are so different; still, the verbal parallels are many, and evoke other such studies of echoes in Shakespeare.

Valerie Cunningham, Everywhere Spoke Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel (Oxford, 1975); on the vitality and importance of dissenting sectarian traditions, despite their marginalizing in the Victorian novel: a model of revisionist religious scholarship.

Roger Howell, Jr. "The Sidney Circle and the Protestant Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy," *Renaissance and Modern Studies*

needs sacramental means to reach that supernatural selflessness which characterizes charity.”

Kathleen Davies, *Social History*, argues that though Catholic priests considered marriage second



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behind that parent question is another even more ancient: whether sacred order is or not” (1987, qu Anthony Zondervan, Sociology and the Sacred (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2005); plus see 2006, 2007 works.

Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue: A Study in oral Theory (Duckworth and Notre Dame): “We are waiting not for a Godot, but for another—doubtless very different—St Benedict” (last sentence) (cites Rieff’s The Triumph of the Therapeutic, 1966).

Haigh, “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation” (Past and Present), contra Bossy: “the Marian clergy ... initiated lay recusant Catholicism, which was already well established before the mission from the Continent ... If the new priests did not create post-Reformation Catholicism, they were nevertheless essential for its continued existence.”

Laurence Stone, 1981, The Past and the Present Revisited, responding to Elton’s Policy and Police: “the [small] list of executions is ... only the moraine thrown up and drifting on a great invisible glacier of repression and punitive actions, of floggings, tortures, imprisonments, public humiliations, harassments, etc., carried out by lesser authorities all over the country;” “the challenge of Protestantism forced Rome to adopt a rigid and reactionary posture of centralized authoritarianism from which it is only emerging today.”

David Tracy, The Analogical Imagination: “This pop(e)3( a)-4(p(e)3( aho25( )-297(r)3(che 6)(c)3-4(o)-4(p(

perceptions are contended for. One concerns the unreservedly protestant character of the Elizabethan and Jacobean religious establishment.” Then by Peter Lake, expressing the “revisionism” of “recent research,” on the “basic protestant consensus” of the Elizabethan period, correcting “views of ‘puritanism’ as an entirely oppositionist force” (in Moderate Puritans and the

“on the whole, English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it when it came;” “the English Reformation came primarily from ‘above’ ... rather than from a groundswell of popular discontent and resentment toward the old religion.”

Yves Congar, Diversity and Communion: “Even if one could point out some hitches, we would have to say that the Catholic church has ceased to see and above all to commend union purely in terms of ‘return’ or conversion to itself.”

### Recent\_Scholarship

**\*\*1985\*\***

Ernst Honigmann, Shakespeare: the ‘lost years’ (Manchester UP): on Lancaster years (does not acknowledge Stevenson (1958)); shows Cottom was Hoghton associate, clinches links with Heskeths and Thomas Savage; reviews plays’s esteem for old religion; answers Douglas Hamer’s 1970 attack on “Shakeshafte” theory. D. Kastan: “I remain unpersuaded that Shakespeare was a Catholic, though for a provocative argument making a case for a “Catholic Shakespeare,” see ... Honigmann” (Shakespeare After Theory).

Schoenbaum review of Honigmann (TLS): “I touched upon this [Shakeshafte / Lancaster] history ... I must confess, dismissively -- in my Compact Documentary

acknowledges, in agreeing that Shakespeare intends to subvert Harsnett; indeed, Greenblatt concedes the “possibility” of the play being “an allegory in which Catholicism is revealed to be the persecuted, legitimate elder brother forced to defend himself by means of theatrical illusions against the cold persecution of his skeptical bastard brother Protestantism,” and that recusant households saw the play as “strangely sympathetic even, to the situation for persecuted Catholics.”

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Avery Dulles, The Catholicity of the Church: “Never since the Reformation has there been such readiness on the part of Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox to acknowledge the value of the papacy as a bond of unity.”

precocity;" notes David George's discovery that Hesketh inventory shows he did receive instruments; "play-clothes" suggests actors, not musicians.

Richard Finn OP, "The Value of Literature:--Shakespeare and the Tudor Homilies," (New Blackfriars): Shakespeare uses phrases from the Homilies, in a parodic way, to undercut the politicized use of such religious phrases in Elizabethan England, undoing Tudor propaganda, on the lines of Southwell's accusation of "heretics ... who change the faith of God's Church into the fables of their own fantasy and seek to set forth their follies with the authority of God's word, wrested by their perverse spirits against its true meaning." "What is taught is a certain scepticism of the black-and-white categories that the Homilist employed and enjoined." The use of anti-Catholic rhetoric in Margaret's condemnation of Henry VI's "Ave-Maries" is an example.

**\*\*1989\*\***

F. W. Brownlow, "John Shakespeare's Recusancy" (Shakespeare Quarterly).

Robert Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation, on slowly attenuating Catholicism in Devon/Cornwall, brought about by government force, financial inducement, etc., general decline of religious sense: thus middle way between Dickens/Elton and Haigh/Scarisbrick emphases.

Susan Brigden, London and the Reformation: "Though many hated the changes, the great majority silently repined ... The world of shared faith was broken by the Reformation and the Christian community divided" (last sentence).

Lambeth Conference Resolution: "Recognizes the Agreed Statement of ARCIC 1 on Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination, and their Elucidations, as consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans, and believes that this agreement offers a sufficient basis for taking the next step forward toward the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith."

W. S. F. Pickering, Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity, on i(ev)-1 20.238 0 Fate fQ



predestination) with Counter-Reformation emphasis on Providence and free will, with the “idea of a peripety that is not merely another turn of fortune’s wheel but the revelation and unexpected result of a plan for human happiness made by a power greater than luck.” The Italian “figure of the woman as wonder” reflected in Helena; Isabella illustrates free will and choice; *tragedia sacra*, on saints’s lives, were seen by audience as representing Reformation issues, i.e. Elias and Jezebel representing papacy and Reform forces.

Eric Griffiths, The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry, on the un-English voices of Newman and Hopkins; chapter 4, “Hopkins: the Perfection of Habit,” on Newman and Hopkins’s deformation of language to convey an alien Catholic idiom in a Protestant culture: “For writers such as Newman and Hopkins, the reciprocal adjustments of sociable locution and liturgical forms make up a central part of learning to live as English Catholics rather than as Anglo-Catholics. Know ways of speaking linguistics habits, had to be faced, and turned in a new direction ... but equally, the unfamiliar language of Catholicism had to be seen and heard as truly an English speech, not as something untenably alien, if the convert’s voice was to be persuasive to the as yet unconverted; converted eloquence had also to be the perfection of habit.”

Erica Veevers, Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and court entertainments

then, of Shakespeare's works, this lost world of religious war, internalized and expressed in dramatic fictions, has to be taken into account ... Prospero is ... an exemplary Occult Neoplatonist," i.e. who "promised to resolve the Catholic/Protestant quarrel in a union of love."

Peter Milward, "The Morean Counsellor in Shakespeare's Last Plays" (Moreana), More as model for Camillo, Gonzalo and his "utopia."

Thomas M. Greene, "Ritual and Text in the Renaissance" (Canadian Review of Comparative Literature), on the growing self-consciousness and emptiness and nostalgia (and perhaps creative recovery) associated with ceremony, illustrated in Henry V's "And what art thou, thou Idoll Ceremonie?"

“an enabling interpretation of Shakespeare which hopefully will inspire scholars to apply it;” “Taken together Hughes and Milward promise a welcome counter-reformation in Shakespeare studies.”

Donna Hamilton, Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England: in the Abbess at the end of Comedy of Errors Shakespeare appeals to concept of broad universal church (i.e. in Anglican sense) which takes everyone in, and critiques condemnatory Elizabeth who would condemn nonconformists. In Cymbeline, Belarius, the conflicted subject who finally comes forward and supports the king, is the English Catholic who fights for king, and also surrenders back his sons, i.e. supports the succession by James’s heirs. In return Catholics hoped James would tolerate their connection with Rome.

Bruce W. Young, “Ritual as an Instrument of Grace: Parental Blessings in Richard III, All’s Well That Ends Well, and The Winter’s Tale,” in True Rites and Maimed Rites, ed. Woodrige and Berry: frequency of such parental blessings, increasingly associated with popery, in the plays.

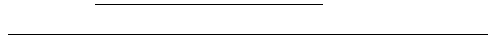
Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England: “An important move [for relating Shakespeare to his contemporaries] was Helgerson’s analysis of the institutions by means of which England fashioned a national identity, a thematized organizational structure that placed Shakespeare both within and in relationship to the larger building blocks -- law, church, theatre, epic, cartography -- of English culture” (Hamilton, “Shakespeare and Religion,” 1999). Helgerson emphasizes the land as alternative source of national identity; thus nature poetry could be subversive, anti-royal.

Patricia Finney, Firedrake’s Eye (novel), with empathy for the old Catholicism, via the narrator Tom O’Bedlam, and its consistency with English patriotism; suggests that Sidney was involved, unclear how wittingly, in the assassination plot against Elizabeth.

1992 cont.

Duffy’s The Stripping of the Altars : Traditional Religion in England, classic work in revisionist Reformation history; see 1409, also Watson and Aers on Arundel’s Constitutions; Aers argues “the naïveté of Duffy’s elision of groups of believers of varying degrees of literacy and sophistication” (cited After Arundel, 59). But see below.

Charles Nicholl, The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe, on the network of Catholic anti-agents and turncoats, probably including Marlowe. Also see David Riggs, The World of Christopher Maof; o oclu ꞗ cs 0 0 -zabetDa0 0 1 eQhC2910( )rhQhC2910( )rhQhC291(/TT1



(1992) “appears as a Catholic Christian but, more broadly, as a figure ecumenical, devout, theological.”

Richard Rodriguez, Days of Obligation: An Argument with my Mexican Father: on the conflict between Southern Spanish Catholicism and northern individualist Protestantism: “I am lonely. I tell you I see the disintegration of Catholicism in America and I tell you the Catholic Church does not attend to the paradox of American Catholic lives. We confess a communal faith; we live in an individualistic culture.”

**\*\*1993\*\***

Ian Wilson’s Shakespeare: The Evidence, full review, with some additions, of Catholic evidence: “not originally intended” but encouraged by “discovery ... of pioneering and little-known studies by ... Bowden ... Devlin ... Milward and ... Thurston;” but doesn’t believe Shakeshafte theory; valuable on Lord Strange and Southampton connections.

F. W. Brownlow, Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham, that Shakespeare tried to counter Harsnett’s inventive energy, use seriously his images of human suffering, initiate audience into realities signified by signs of possession, and defend his friends and relations; fills in network of Shakespeare relations: Robert Dibdale from Stratford recusant family, his sister Agnes witnessed Richard Hathaway’s will which left money to Anne Hathaway, Dibdale and Simon Hunt probably associated; at Douay Dibdale met Thomas Cottom (executed with Campion and attacked by Harsnett), younger brother of John Cottom, Shakespeare’s teacher; Harsnett also attacked Edward Arden, a distant cousin of Shakespeare.

Daniel Wright, The Anglican Shakespeare.

Paul Voss, “The Antifraternal Tradition in English Renaissance Drama,” i.e. only Shakespeare deviates from the tradition.

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Christopher Haigh, English Reformations, classic in revisionist history, seeing Reformation as “an act of state;” the last years of the sixteenth century created “a Protestant nation, but not a nation of Protestants.”

John O’Malley, The First Jesuits

in a way yet to be determined -- from the parent's unconscious into the child's ... The special difficulty of these analyses lies in the patient's horror at violating a parent's or a family's guarded secret, even though the secret's text and context are inscribed within the patient's own unconscious." King Hamlet's ghost secret is "merely a subterfuge. It masks another secret ... resulting from an infamy which the father, unbeknown to his son, has on his conscience;" "Hamlet's fits of indecision tussle with both a fallacious 'truth' forced upon him and a 'true' truth his unconscious has long since guessed."

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B. Weller and M. Ferguson, eds., The Tragedy of Mariam by Elizabeth Cary, seminal edition, combining feminist and recusant approaches.

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descriptions by Andrewes, Laud and others of their church as being essentially 'Catholic and Reformed', rather than merely Protestant, marked a distinctive strain of 'Anglican' thought within the Church of England.'

Margo Todd, intro. Reformation to Revolution: "the focus now is on the vast majority of the religious population occupying the middle of the road, struggling to cope both with changes imposed from above and with the demands of the radical reformers on the one hand and reactionaries on the other."

Mary Heimann, Catholic Devotion in Victorian England (Oxford); on the strong continuity in choice of devotion between pre- and post-'Second Spring' Catholicism, thus linking both cisalpine and ultramontane, liberal and conservative Catholics, Irish immigrants and English old Catholics. "The Garden of the Soul, far from being abandoned in the post-1850 period, continued to be the staple devotional text." "It was an invigorated English recusant tradition, not a Roman one, which was most successful in capturing the imagination of Catholics living in England from the middle of the nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth."

Nicolas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular

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**\*\*1996\*\***

Milward, Love and Marriage in Shakespeare's Plays: the final marriage in Measure signifies the "fulfillment of the Messianic Psalm 85: 'Mercy and truth are met together'."

Eamon Duffy, "Was Shakespeare a Catholic?," The Tablet, on Shakespeare as church papist; replied to by Milward a few weeks later.

Andrew Graham-Dixon, A History of British Art (BBC, also TV series), on the destructive effect of Reformation on British art.

Antonia Fraser, The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605: portrays the Catholic desperation  
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unsympathetic.”

Frank Brownlow, Robert Southwell: cites many more parallels than Devlin between St. Peter’s Complaint and Rape of Lucrece.

Sheridan Gilley, “The Ecclesiology of the Oxford Movement: A Reconsideration,” in From Oxford to People: “Anglo-

Wilson's ... argument" (Hamilton, "Shakespeare and Religion," 1999).

David Beauregard, "New Light on Shakespeare's Catholicism: Prospero's Epilogue in The Tempest" (Renascence) on the Catholic theology implicit in Prospero's final use of words like "indulgence."

1997 cont.

Milward, The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays: seeing Shylock as Puritan relieves Shakespeare from the charge of anti-semitism. "In such snatches [of Ophelia] ... one may find the further implication of lament for the passing of Catholic England." Lucio calls Friar Lodowich (Duke) "the fantastical duke of dark corners," recalling Burghley on "secret lurkings" of Jesuits in Execution of Justice. Fool's "priests are more in word" adapt "Chaucer's Prophecy" ("When faith faileth in priests's saws" etc.) in Verstegan's Declaration of the True Causes

with chapter treating seriously the Lancaster possibility.

Honigmann, Shakespeare: the 'lost years', second edition (see 1985).

Richard Dutton, "Shakespeare and Lancaster" (Shakespeare Quarterly), on Shakespeare's tetralogy influenced by Doleman's Conference.

Amy Wolf, "Shakespeare and Harsnett: 'Pregnant to Good Pity'?" (SEL): Lear exhibit the real suffering and madness that the exorcism victims experienced in their own way, and Lear's ravings ("Down from the waist" etc.) reflect some of Harsnett's language of description. 257 Cordelia administers to him a gentle benediction. Edgar is a sympathetic pretender, unlike Harsnett's deceiving fakes. Genuine sympathy needed to empathize with suffering. [Is Edmund and his cynicism parallel to Harsnett contra Gloucester's superstition?]

Achsah Guibbory, Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton (Cambridge UP), on the longing for these things in the Laudian tradition, and also in Herrick, Browne. Milton desires "a ritual experience that might integrate body and spirit and connect human beings," "Milton's depiction of Edenic love and worship expresses a longing for both the community and the sense of integration that the ceremonialism of the Church of England claimed to provide. Though Milton rejected its worship ... -2(t)i-3( )-60(6(onu)-2-3( )ig96(h. )-[.0054 Tc(-2-3a(-198(-2(t)p)-3(i)1(ri)1(t)h.0043 detct(idof)2( )-ade n29.2e

Hazlitt): “G. K. Chesterton [often quoted by Bloom], a wonderful literary critic, insisted that Shakespeare was a Catholic dramatist ... I do not know, and Chesterton did not know either ... I certainly do not have a clue as to whether he favored Protestantism or Catholicism or neither ... His politics, like his religion, evades me, but I think he was too wary to have any.” “I suspect that he had no politics, and no religion, only a vision of the human, or the more human” [yet] “I think part of Shakespeare’s irony, in the play [Julius Caesar], is to suggest that no Roman, in good faith, could stand up against the spirit of Caesar, even as no Englishman could stand up against the spirit of Elizabeth.” “Shakespeare, always wary of a state power that had mu



activitie.” “Alonso’s sadness at having apparently lost his son and married his daughter to a foreign prince might well have seemed a virtual mirror of the situation of [King James],” with James seeking to use marriages of his children to mediate European religious divisions. ‘If the shift in focus from Bermuda to



1999 cont. Frances Dolan, Whores of Babylon, Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture, that Shakespeare's Cleopatra is made parallel to the allure of the papal Whore of Babylon.

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Kenneth Muse, "The Protestant Issue in Hamlet" (Publications of the Missouri Philological Association): Denmark was early Protestant country; James VI had married Protestant Anne of Denmark, marriage in Elsinore, etc. "My best guess, then, is that young Will was exposed in his intimate family context to both religio-cultural value systems ... The effort to make sense of a radical duality of world-views channeling through one's parents can generate a deep and penetrating curiosity ... resulting from the simultaneous sympathy and distance one would feel toward each parent and each world-view. This is certainly what happened to Weber ... The family situation ily situatioe3d                      pento Wely ite

both the necessity for and the character of patriarchally mandated marriage.”

2000 cont.

“religious” and the “secular,” as a fundamental dichotomy of social reality, discovered and formalized in the secular religious research of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later (“comparative religion”). Compare Newman on “dogma” vs. sentimental “religion” (*Apologia*, 1864).

Thomas Merriam, “The Misunderstanding of Munday as Author of Sir Thomas More” (RES). Argues that Munday was a counter-spy agent provocateur promoting the play to entrap fellow playwrights, like Marlowe and Shakespeare.

Robert B. Bennett, Romance and Reformation; The Erasmian Spirit of Shakespeare’s Measure for Measure: discusses parallel of “dramatic elements in Erasmus’s Christian humanism ... to features of the genre of comic romance;” thus applies 1531 Erasmus statement, “all these turmoils in the Church will eventually turn out, as in a drama, with a happy ending, thanks to the skill of the Supreme Director whose inscrutable designs control the affairs of men.”

David Ellis, “Biography and Shakespeare: An Outsider’s View” (Cambridge Quarterly): strong statement insisting on tenuousness of Catholic case.

Randall Martin, “Rehabilitating John Somerville in 3 Henry VI,” and John D. Cox, “Local References in 3 Henry VI” (Shakespeare Quarterly); Somerville, added to sources, assists Warwick, alludes to Somerville and Arden executions, the proximate occasion of Burghley’s Execution of Justice, which sees Somerville incited by Leslie’s A Treatise of Treasons (whose portraits of N. Bacon and Burghley are source for Richard’s soliloquy in 3.2); Richard paralleled by Leslie to their scheming to avert true succession; Leicester’s Commonwealth blamed Leicester for the Somerville trial; also paralleled Burghley wicked counselors to those of Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI. Allen’s answer to Burghley said the Somerville case was a put-up job by Burghley. “Shakespeare portrays Somerville in a surprisingly positive light, boldly correcting the mildly confused Warwick yet clearly loyal to the Lancastrian cause;” “a coded portrait that challenges the official verdict on his contemporary namesake.” When Warwick (whose importanc

devotions, etc.] “The age of Erasmus ... was being replaced by an age of orthodoxy.” Then boundaries began to harden; the moderate ground was occupied by Protestants; a “Counter-Reformation” approach began. “The earlier ... religious change was more truly a reformation, in that it tried to reform, rather than overthrow, existing belief systems.” Pettegree review (EHR 2002) questions the Erasmian reconciliation but concedes: “the book does raise, at least implicitly, an interesting question: could Catholic evangelism remain a viable option in a scholarly world poisoned by the dialectic confrontation between Luther and the Pope;” yet the French and Italian experiments failed. Haigh review (Hist. Jnl, 2002): “Were Catholic reformers cheerfully dumping outmoded ide )

2001 cont. Shakespeare and Catholicism, special issue of Religion and the Arts includes  
David **Beauregard**

an atheist speaking like Harsnett: “a moment of reverent (Catholic) affect is superceded by a moment of contemptuous (Protestant) affect, but the contempt of a contemptible character only reinforces the reverence of spectators;” “The pagan deities in the romances are not deceiving demons, but benevolent entities with real knowledge and real power, and as such easily understood as allegorical representations of Christian divinity” (cites Rist, 1999, who argued “that the Shakespearean scepticism praised by many critics takes in fact a specifically Counter-Reformation form;” also cites Milward Shakespeare’s Other Dimension 1987 on such allegorical identifications.) “Suggests that pagan ritual ... provides a powerfully coded analogue for old Catholic rites” (Dutton summary, 2005; Shakespeare’s “own late plays follow Jonson’s lead: they give us, not a Brechtian emptying out of Christian mythology, but the commodification of a specifically Catholic affect” (p. 24). **Robert Miola**, “‘An Ancient People Clutching Their Gods’?: Shakespeare’s Ancient Religions”: “The allusions do not amount to a manifesto of the playwrights’ personal belief -- biographical Catholicity -- or to a discursive body of dogma advocated openly or secretly -- literary Catholicity. Instead they constitute a cultural Catholicity, which in Shakespeare ancient Rome and Greece, has real presence.” Miola’s review of this volume (in ms.): “The practice of treating Shakespeare’s works as evidence about his life and beliefs seems always to reveal more about the investigator than the investigated. One can easily find as many anti-Catholic passages, moments, and characters, as pro-Catholic. Critics might spend their time more profitably in giving voice to silenced Catholic figures, as Milward has in his impressive two volumes on religious controversies, and to exploring the religious conflicts that constitute the early modern cultural moment.”

R. Chris Hassel, Jr., “‘No boasting like a fool’? Macbeth and Herod” (Studies in Philology), on the many parallels to the Herod of earlier liturgical drama.

Paul J. Voss, Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe & the Birth of Journalism; on flurry of news pamphlets (1589-93), emphasizing Catholic atrocities. “Extant documents from 1584 to 1594 suggest that no other Englishman, including Sir Francis Drake and the Earl of Essex combined, generated as much interest and support in the general press as Navarre ... Navarre’s popularity came to an abrupt halt after his conversion in 1594.” “Shakespeare’s experimental drama, or perhaps ‘imaginative journalism,’ might actually be suggesting a way to end the wars -- with poetry and not pikes.” “The broken oaths of Navarre suggest that Shakespeare either, quite amazingly, anticipates the king’s abjuration, or that the revision of the play took place after July of 1593.” S. “combines bitter enemies and transforms religious perjury into more benign romantic perjury.”

Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel, Die verborgene Existenz des William Shakespeare: on importance of the Flower portrait painted over painting of Virgin Mary and child (a way of protecting Arden heirloom?). [But painting has now been dated later.]

John Davis, “Catholic Envy: The Visual Culture of Protestant Desire”, in The Visual Culture of American Religions, ed. D. Morgan and S. Promey (Berkeley: University of California P, 2001) 105-8: developing Franchot, noting Orville Dewey’s claim that the impression of “sacrality” in St. Peter’s “is socially constituted ... culturally and aesthetically produced” (122); also Geertz

theory that ritual does not require “absolute belief or submission” but invites detached participation (128).

Maurine Sabine, “Fred Zinnemann’s The Nun’s Story and the Pilgrim Soul of Women” (Religion and the Arts).

Michael Schiefelbein, The Lure of Babylon: Seven Protestant Novelists and Britain’s Roman Catholic Revival: on the mixture of attraction and repulsion in such works. Cites Franchot. Discusses Bronte, Eliot, Francis Trollope, Dickens, Scott, Mary Shelley, Kingsley; critiqued in Engelhardt review, Victorian Studies, 2003.

2001 cont.

Pope John Paul II visits Greece, first papal visit since the schism of 1054.

Eamon Duffy, The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village: describing pastor Sir Christopher Highley’s slow reluctant enduring of reforms.

Kimberly VanEsveld Adams, Our Lady of Victorian Feminism, citing Marina Warner’s Alone of all Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (1976), on Madonna admiration in Anna Jameson, Margaret Fuller, George Eliot, on celibate Virgin’s female independence, etc.

Robert Miola, “Ben Jonson, Catholic Poet” (Renaissance and Reformation).

*can recognise each other as sister Churches.”*



his credentials (vs. his many Catholic relatives) and hop on the Protestant bandwagon.

R. Watson, “Othello as Reforming Tragedy, in In the Company of Shakespeare, ed. Moisan and Bruster: on Othello by implication “endorsing the Protestant Reformation,” i.e. Iago undermining Othello’s solifidianism by tempting him to look for proofs and works; his agony of faith tortured by works, like that described by Luther. Compares Iago to Jesuits described in C. Bagshaws’s A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits (1601): they abuse confidences and turn “the wife against her husband: the husband’s against his wife, and the servant of them both ... to tyrannize over them.” The homoerotics of Iago’s relation to Othello “evoke the sodomital taint of antimonastic polemics.”

Gerard Kilroy, “Requiem for a Prince: Rites of Memory in Hamlet” (Downside Review): on prison of Denmark, like prison of England for recusants; thus the spying, distrust of fathers for sons, “bloody question,” “Latin requiem mass in “flights of angels,” minister refusing Ophelia funeral like Protestants rejecting funeral mass, Hamlet new confessor for mother, parody of eucharist.

John Velz, “Some Amens in Shakespeare” (Shakespeare Newsletter): that Shakespeare’s common expression, “say Amen” echoes Southwell’s “sweete Jesu, say Amen” in last line of St. Peter’s Complaint.

Brian Vickers, ‘Counterfeiting’ Shakespeare: Evidence, Authorship, and John Ford’s Funerall Elegye.

Paul Dean, “Shakespeare and Religion: Authorised and Revised Versions” (The Use of English), summary of the case, review of Holland’s 2001 Shakespeare Survey collection.

Knapp, Jeffrey. Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England (UChicago.), on a Protestant Erasmian doctrinal minimalism and inclusiveness.

Ernst Honigmann, “Catholic Shakespeare? A Response to Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel” (Connotations 2002-3): “decoding of hidden meanings too often fails to persuade, and I fear may do more harm than good.” But “My Shakespeare was probably (but by no means certainly) brought up as a Catholic, probably continued as a Catholic in his ‘lost years,’ and possibly returned to his Catholic faith on his death-bed, after (probably) converting to the Church of England when or soon after he started his career in the theatre.”

María Elena de las Carreras Kuntz, “The Catholic Vision in Hollywood: Ford, Capra, Borzage and Hitchcock,” Film History (suggestive, but needs clearer contrasts with Protestant and secular film-makers). (Hitchcock inspired by Chesterton Fr. Brown stories.)

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2002 James Simpson, Reform and Cultural Revolution (Oxford Literary History): “the late-medieval cultural scene in England offered a patchwork of overlapping, often competing but long-established jurisdictions, clerical and lay, none able to impose itself and all therefore historically tolerant of, or at least resigned to, diversity. The obligatory formal acknowledgment of the one state and the one church left plenty of room for moral maneuver in most of the realms that matter humanly. By contrast, the sharpened cultural divisions that opened up in the early modern period,

further intensified by unbridgeable religious divisions, created the need for a strong central authority in Henrician England that steadily enlarged the sphere of the non-negotiable by enforcing orthodoxy in matters formerly indifferent. Thus Simpson sees in the early Tudor era a contraction of sympathies and a certain new rigidity of thought” (summary by John Gleason review, RQ 2004, p. 36-1(n)2(v)-3(i)1(e)-333 Tc 13.498100(R)-5(Q)-6( )-100(2)-3(0)m -1(n)2(vau)-3(0)m)

play to be seen as emblematic of the hopes of James and his supporters that some kind of reunification between moderate Protestant and moderate Catholics in Europe might be achievable through entirely peaceful means"; cites Rudolf II; questionable arguments.

inspiring friendship,” thus Southampton, Pembroke, Jonson, thus also the eccentric Alexander Hoghton.

2003 cont.

Shakespeare and the Reformation, special issue of Religion and the Arts, introd. Dennis Taylor. Includes **Richard Dutton**, “The Comedy of Errors and The Calumny of Apelles: An exercise in source study”: on how Lucian’s theme of

of Shakespeare's Catholic contexts, beautifully illustrated. "Shakespeare was born of a Catholic family, but perhaps lost his parents' religion as an adult,

“torn by the confliction between ‘new aspirations and old traditions’”, and moved most powerfully “by the symbols of ‘nation’ and ‘class’.” Thus Henry V, Harry is like a transitional man, with his unconventional education on the highways, showing ambivalence over old and new values, both pro and anti-Catholicism.

Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findlay, Richard Wilson, eds. Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare (Manchester UP) (appeared 2004): on the Shakespeare and Catholicism issue. Includes, among others, **Richard Wilson**, “Introduction: A torturing hour: Shakespeare and the martyrs”: “Simpson was pioneering a method that carefully avoided the traps of either exclusively external or internal interpretation, suggesting instead a dialectical tension between Shakespeare’s formal choices and historical determinants,” to dismay of formalist like Furnivall. Tribute to Simpson followed by mature review of evidence. **Eamon Duffy**, “Bare ruined choirs: remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare’s England”: review of the laments for the destruction of monasteries; **Peter Milward**, “Shakespeare’s Jesuit Schoolmasters;” **Robert Miola**, “Jesuit drama in early modern England;” **Jean-Christophe Mayer**, “‘This papist and his poet’: Shakespeare’s Lancastrian kings and Robert Parson’s Conference About the Next Succession;” **Carol Enos**, “Catholic exiles and As You Like It: Or what if you don’t like it at all?”: play reflects exile of Thomas Hoghton I, whose brothers tended to betray him; his son Thomas, in exile with father, debarred from succession and became priest, with his brothers hostile; “The evil brother, Duke Frederick and Oliver are redeemed in the play in an almost ‘wishful thinking,’ fairytale type of resolution that the real Thomas Hoghton I would have welcomed;” “the play was a plea to English Christians, Protestant and Catholics alike, to reconcile their differences in Christian forgiveness and love.” **Arthur Marotti**, “Shakespeare and Catholicism”: mature review. Henry VIII “seems to play down Catholic/Protestant differences, preferring to hold out a model of Jacobean irenicism in Henry’s forcing a final reconciliation of Cranmer and Gardiner;” “Like so many of his contemporaries, Shakespeare was haunted by the symbols, rituals and beliefs of a culturally repressed Catholicism;” “It is as though Isabella were asking at the end of this play ‘Where does Isabella belong?’ and leaving the audience with no easy answer;” “In his plays Shakespeare expresses contradictory attitudes toward supernatural manifestations and signs, the first skeptical if not mocking, the second receptive and admiring;” “What Shakespeare might easily demystify, he remystifies and makes ambiguous, participating in a rehabilitation of magic and the visual that is elaborated in the Stuart Court masque;” “Shakespeare could not, and apparently did not wish to, sever his or his culture’s ties to a Catholic past and its residual cultural presence” “the reverence for relics began to migrate into print culture, where the remains of a person were verbal” **Gary Taylor**, “The cultural politics of Maybe”: “We might begin to suspect that the Shakespeare First Folio was promoted ... by a conspiracy of underground Catholics.” Of the 4 men who wrote commendatory poems, James Maybe and Leonard Digges were hispanophiles, Hugh Holland was openly Catholic; Jonson had been Catholic. “After these Catholic or crypto-Catholic preliminaries, the Folio begins with The Tempest, a tragic-comedy which dramatizes the resolution of inter-state rivalry and political conflict through a dynastic marriage,” like the

Spanish match. Ends with Cymbeline because that play “ends with the happy re-union of Britain and Rome.” Re: the Catholic religious background: “I have argued elsewhere that the early modern theatre was distinguished from all earlier forms of Western drama by the ‘routinized commodification of affect’ ... Shakespeare transformed all that real grief, real pain, real loss, real sacrifice, all that individual and collective religious trauma, into an apparently secular affective commodity.”

Hans Hillerbrand, “Was there a Reformation in the sixteenth century?” (Church History): “At present Reformation studies are at an impasse: theological and social historians face one another as do those who posit dramatic changes in the early part of the sixteenth century and those who do not.”

Alexandra Walsham, “Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible,” Journal of British Studies (42 (April 2003): 141-66 (see 1582): “The late medieval church was not marked by a monolithic or definitive ban on Bible translation, but by considerable scope for local initiative—by a degree of permissiveness mingled in practice with much distrust and anxiety” (147); “in most part of Europe the Bible had appeared in the vernacular long before Martin Luther burst upon the scene” (148); “Erasmus’s famous call to universal Bible reading can be found in his Paraclesis (1516) ...”. Devotio moderna also called for translations for the laity.

of the Taylor article: 1) Jordan's possible forgery of the first leaf of the will does not invalidate the five leaves of the will as published by Edmond Malone in 1790. 2) Malone's knowledge of the will was independent of Jordan's intervention, and the will's discovery was attested by several reputable residents of Stratford. 3) The theory that Jordan early conspired with the bricklayer to plant a doctored will in the Henley Street is extremely unlikely for a number of reasons. 4) The discovery of a template for the will, in the Borromeo formulary, was an astonishing confirmation of the historical authenticity of the will's language. 5) The assumption that Jordan concocted the first leaf of the will cannot be taken for granted, despite his unsatisfactory explanation on how he obtained possession. 6) The labeling of the entire will as "Jordan's forgery," a mistake traditionally made by mainstream scholars, is based on an historical myth that needs to be deconstructed. 7) Malone's late and unexplained doubts about the will can be given various explanations and were, arguably, an69ok8e2mwcd. willexplana(wcd. )Tfor







the Arts): on the Eucharistic dimensions of the final scene.

Clare Asquith, Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare (Public Affairs, Perseus Books): begins with analogy of Chekhov stories performed in 1983 under Soviet rule. Shakespeare “never forgets the country’s original crime, the desertion and mistreatment of its proper spiritual heritage for the sake of an alien faith.” “Throughout his work, he argues not for union of Catholic and Protestant, nor for the ascendancy of one over the other—but for reconciliation and mutual respect,” for example, between Julia and Silvia in Two Gentlemen—“though a return to the fold of universal Christendom is seen as England’s best hope.” Shakespeare is a “Catholic humanist”, the plays are allegoric, coded. Shakespeare appealed to Prince Henry’s love of romances. Shakespeare is a “a uniquely privileged thorn in the flesh of the country’s new religious and political order.” A lively argument that the plays are coded representations, “holograms,” that continually refer to Catholic / Protestant conflict from a Catholic point of view.

David Ellis, That Man Shakespeare: Icon of Modern Culture (East Sussex, Helm Information Ltd., 2005), the most recent anti-speculation book in the Levin-Bearman tradition, mocks biographies for relying on arguments drawn from “absence,” “history,” “proximity,” and the plays and sonnets. Yet concedes: “It could well be that Shakespeare’s parents were among these [“who ... kept the substance of the old beliefs”] and that Shakespeare himself always retained not merely a familiarity with the old ways but a positive fondness for them. That would not however be very interesting from a biographical point of view”, because we don’t know Shakespeare’s commitments. [But note the concession.]

Martin Wiggins, “Shakespeare Jesuited: The Plagiarisms of ‘Pater Clarcus’,” (Seventeenth Century) : at least one later Jesuit dramatist drew on Shakespeare’s history play, 3 Henry VI, to dramatize the king as a saint, in Father Clarke’s c. 1654 play, Innocentia Purpurata seu Rosa Candida et Rubicunda, performed at St Omers. The folio version of Shakespeare’s play was the source of many details used by Clarke, who was impressed by Henry VI’s meeting with Richmond and the prophecy that Richmond will reign and join the roses; other details borrowed from King John. The conclusion with the angel receiving Henry into heaven “is, in effect, a Catholic riposte to the official history of Henry’s death, construing it as the martyrdom of a holy monarch.” The play may reflect unrealized hopes placed on the exiled Prince Charles.

Maurice Hunt, “Reformation/Counter-Reformation Macbeth” (ES) : Protestant elements, equivocation, witches as Harsnett-like in use of body parts, what James I attacked, also like equivocating Jesuits wonder workers, allusion to James I as climactic king. Yet Edward the Confessor “is a distinctly Catholic Monarch”, stress on royal touching. Malcolm uses equivocation. Gatekeeper may be derived from medieval play about harrowing of hell (citing Kranz). Vision of the show of 8 kings is a “true” vision, deriving from a Catholic miracle play (citing Hassel). Thus the play shows “a subtle melding of a multitude of Protestant and Catholic motifs, as I have tried to show in a series of articles written over the last decade.” The result is to give “the impression of tolerance of religious difference.” More

important is the deep non-sectarian message about the “scourge of God.”

Peter Milward, Shakespeare the Papist (Sapientia Press), reviewing “all the plays.” Cites Newman’s “convergence of probabilities”, as echoed by Chesterton in Chaucer (1932) above on “every sort of convergent common sense.”

Peter Lake, “From Leicester his Commonwealth to Sejanus his Fall: Ben Jonson and the politics of Roman (Catholic) virtue” (in Shagan, ed. Catholics and the ‘Protestant Nation’), on the play as Catholic view of Elizabeth/Essex relation.

Harold Bloom, Jesus and Yahweh: The Names Divine (Penguin): “We will never know if Shakespeare, like his father, was a recusant Catholic, but his dependence on the Protestant Bible makes me guess otherwise.” “The need (or craving) for transcendence may well be a great unwisdom, but without it we tend to become mere engines of entropy” (ante-penultimate sentence).

Kevin Gardner ed., Faith and Doubt of John Betjeman: An Anthology of Betjeman’s Religious Verse, important collection, see 1958.

Nicholas Watson, “Chaucer’s Public Christianity” (Religion and Literature), classic description of Chaucer’s defense of middling lay Catholicism, contra Langland and others, in resistance to more “puritan” notions of lay fervor. (Thus Wife of Bath a sort of Falstaff.) On the pilgrims: “In some

deprived of the Latin mass, monasteries, chantries, shrines, gilds and compulsory celibate priesthood? ... the alternation were probably aimed at conciliating Lutheran Protestant either at home or abroad." Not Calvinist, but pre-Calvinist Reform pushed by Cranmer, Laski, Bullinger,

less conceding, and is only a small thing in a sea of anti-papist rhetoric.]

Jarlath Killeen, The Faiths of Oscar Wilde: Catholicism, Folklore and Ireland (Palgrave): on

Jean-Christophe Mayer, Shakespeare's Hybrid Faith: History, Religion and the Stage: the plays wrestle with and do not resolve the religious contradictions of the

nostalgia for the ‘Old Religion’ and active participation in the Counter-Reformation are observed to be utterly distinct.” TLS Letters by Duffy and John Shaw (3.30/07) defend the Borromeo Testament.

Carol Enos, Shakespeare Settings, exhaustive encyclopedic account of Shakespeare’s Catholic connections, though “nearly every trail that promises to lead directly to Shakespeare fizzles out” (229).

Michael Alexander, Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England (Yale UP): “Thanks to historical researchers, visionaries, prose romancers and poets, England has since 1760 regained an awareness of and regard for her medieval past, which is now a permanent part of her identity and



Protestant characteristics are often established); town protected its papists but only for civil harmony; but acknowledging in general: “For the majority of the population, reluctant acquiescence in the process appears to have been the prevailing attitude, with most people eventually finding themselves able to square their conscience with the requirements of the state” [eventually” being the problematic word]. “Stratford was clearly not a bastion of the Catholic faith and provides no evidence of exceptional forces at work which might have tipped him in that direction.”

Masahiro Takenaka, “Notes on John Shakespeare’s Spiritual Testament,” Renaissance Bulletin, contra Davidson and McCoog, on Borromeo hosting Campion and Persons, on the 3-4000 “Testaments” probably being the Spiritual Testaments, on the apparent accuracy of Jordan’s transcription, in the words “justing” and “like a sharpe cutting razor”, on Malone’s continued respect for Jordan.

“Shakespeare and Faith: Roman, English, or None?” Program arranged by Conference on Christianity and Literature, MLA Convention (Dec, 28): Alison Shell, “Shakespeare, Catholic Writing, and the Rigorist Aesthetic” (Jesuit critiques of Shakespeare); Debora Shuger “The Protesting Catholic Puritan Who Loved Shakespeare” (i.e. Sir John Harington); Richard Strier “Atheistical Theology in Othello and King Lear,” historic session for MLA, debating Catholic, Anglican and secular approaches to Shakespeare. Duffy and Lake revisionist histories cited (by Shuger and Strier, respectively) as reasons for new importance of the term, “Catholicism”, in Shakespeare studies.

Robert Miola’s Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources (Oxford UP), making recusant and such material available. Includes portions of Shakespeare’s Hamlet (ghost), Measure for Measure (Angelo vs. Isabel), Pericles (miracle of Thaisa recovered), Henry VIII (Catherine). Last sentence of intro: “H. O. Evennett’s comment over a half-century ago remains all too true: ‘there is a great harvest waiting to be reaped in the literary and other aspects of Recusant history—and indeed, in the whole story of Catholicism in modern England’.”

Glynn Parry, “The Context of Shakespeare’s ‘Recusancy’ Re-examined” (Shakespeare Yearbook):

host of Catholic oral material, ballads, broadsides, legends, superstitions etc. and see its making for a continuing counter-cultural tradition, evoking the sacrilege of the stripping of the altars. The Gothic novel rests partly on the fear of a Catholic curse from the spoliation of the abbeys, dooming families who took over the church lands. “An intriguing question, which lies beyond the scope of this chapter [“Abbey ruins, sacrilege narratives and the Gothic imagination”], is the extent to which

distinguished Literary Converts (1999); Pearce, a new convert to the Shakespeare Catholicism connection, draws much on older material, i.e. Mutschmann and Wentersdorf, and De Groot.

David Beauregard, Catholic Theology in Shakespeare's Plays (Univ. of Delaware Press), a matured deliberation about unexceptionable Catholic dimensions in the plays, especially concerning sacraments (vs. the Homilies), the integration of grace and merit, the importance of Franciscan friars, etc. also "doctrinal issues where there are distinct differences", as opposed to critics who "adduce as evidence some rather commonplace Christian doctrines. The weakness of the flesh, the authority of conscience, predestination, justification by grace, and a number of other overlapping and generalized doctrines common to Catholic and Protestant alike are employed as if they are distinct points of difference." 22 Includes revised versions of earlier essays (some above\*), on the Homilies (2000), All's Well (1999\*), The Tempest (1997\*), Measure for Measure (2001\*), Hamlet (2007), The Winter's Tale (2002), "Shakespeare and the English Bible" (2001\*).

Steven Justice's "Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?" (Representations, Summer, 2008): the medieval structures that made belief a "discipline of fidelity ... to ...putatively true propositions" which the mind itself may find "repellent to natural dispositions", the medieval mind keeping both of these things in balance; "the forms of skeptical reduction that polemicists and historians have performed on miracles stories since the sixteenth century begin as reduction that miracle stories inflict on themselves," i.e. incorporating the consciousness "that there exists a possible deflating explanation."

Brideshead Revisited (Waugh), new movie version, dir. Julian Jarrold: how Julia moves from little girl fear of mother's tyrannic moralism (you're a bad girl)--i.e. Catholic guilt--to a deeper sense of the heart of Christianity, the sense of an awesome God (as in David's Miserere psalm), as a result of her father's death and deathbed repentance, which Charles for the moment doesn't get at all at whom she looks plaintively.

John Klause, Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit (Fairleigh Dickinson

Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art (Fall 2008), exhibiting more than 200 paintings, and works on paper and stained glass, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Georges Rouault's death.

Eamon Duffy, "The Legacy of Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Reginald Pole," lecture, Corpus Christi Church, NYC November 17, 2008, part of "Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Reginald Pole: A Commemoration of the 450th Anniversary of their Deaths." with a Requiem Mass for Mary and Pole, including music by Thomas Tallis, and later, songs by William Byrd.

Alexandra Walsham, "The Reformation and 'The Disenchantment of the World' Reassessed" The Historical Journal 51 (2008): 497-528, masterful summary of Reformation and post-Reformation scholarship, arguing for a continuous cycle of desacralization and resacralization. "The Tridentine Church was itself engaged in a campaign that, in some respects at least, contributed to the developments that have come to be encapsulated in the phrase 'the disenchantment of the world'. It too tried to restrain manifestations of lay enthusiasm, to curtail unorthodox aspects of the cult of the saints, and to subject manifestations of the divine to rigorous testing and investigation, particularly in the first years following Luther's bold protest against indulgences ..." "Thereafter, the Catholic Church re-embraces the miraculous in a manner that made it one of the hallmarks of the baroque, though we should not overlook the scrupulous wariness about authenticating the sacred that remained a continuing thread in ecclesiastical life." 502 "The idea of an enchanted middle ages is gradually evaporating." There is a "nevertheless" quality to Walsham's account; nevertheless, the sacral is sacrificed, nevertheless the sacral reemerges in a new form.

Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay", American Historical Review 108.4 (2008): 1-, interesting statement of the anti-secularization viewpoint. "If the Enlightenment [seen as a "new constellation of ... practices and institutions ... [that] would encompass ... salons, reading circles, erudition, scholarship and scholarly techniques, translations, book reviews, academies, new... journals and newspapers, new ... dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies" (30)] is no longer read as ... anti-religious movement but rather ... as a set of cultural institutions and practices whose relationship to religion was complicated and diverse, then the Enlightenment no longer can provide the opening move in that inevitable decline of religion called secularization ... If the Enlightenment keeps its status as the cradle of modernity, it will be less as the birthplace of secularism than as the birthplace of a distinctively modern form of religion whose presence and power continues to shape the present." (36)

Regina Schwartz, Sacramental Poetics at the Dawn of Secularism (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2008): drama became "disguised sacramental cultural expressions," addressing the thirst for Justice once satisfied by the Mass through redemptive suffering. "With the English Church's reluctance to offer sacramental deterrence and remission of sins—that is, sacramental justice—the scene shifted to the theater where justice was taken on imaginatively." "redemption becomes the object of longing—in memory and hope;" "a truly protestant church."

Alec Kyrie, "Paths Not Taken in the British Reformations," Historical Journal 52.1 (2009): 1-22, on the failed effort of sixteenth-century England to find a reformed "Catholicity" consistent with Henry VIII's relative conservatism, his "distinctive cocktail of religious policy" (that collapsed with the Edward VI regime, a collapse confirmed from the opposite direction by Bloody Mary): "Antipapal Catholicism was now a suicidally quixotic standpoint." Trent "provided Catholicism with a sharply defined and defensible frontier and so saved it from doubting and debating itself out of existence." 21 Indeed Queen Mary paradoxically saved a distinct English Catholicism and prevented English conservatives t





Mark Roche and Vittorio Hösle, "Cultural and Religious Reversals in Clint Eastwood's Gran Torino," Religion and the Arts (15.5), on Eastwood's Catholic imagery, in this film the old fashioned Polish Walt's sacrificial death to save his oriental friends from the gangs.

